POLITICAL RESEARCH: ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

PROD

CONTENTS:

An Informal Newsletter of Research Ideas

PROD collects and circulates among its readers the ideas of political and behavioral scientists about researches that might advance man's knowledge of political behavior. PROD's "articles" describe a "significant" problem, present a design for "solving" it, and estimate what might be the results of the study. The problems may be of small or large scope; the solution sought may be partial or definitive, and the results might be wrongly guessed. PROD is more a free expression of what may be promising inquiries than it is a medium for elaborate designs, research memoranda, or reports of completed work.

Good friends have suggested to PROD a wide range of worthy goals. According to their advices, PROD might

1. Ease communications among scholars.
2. Put new theories before the field.
3. Make political theory more operational.
4. Develop a consensus on the subjects and priorities of research.
5. Improve political research design.
6. Share useful plans among scholars.
7. Raise the level of theses and dissertations.
8. Free ideas from the confines of personal and foundation files.
9. Parade the extensive applications of systematic method.
10. Accommodate to political study the tools and concepts of other disciplines.
11. Give outsiders a concrete image of political science today.
12. Let it be known "who is working on what."
13. Orient students to a better theory-research-teaching synthesis.

PROD would like to undertake so long and brave a charge, and it esteems the vision it contains. However a simple and general motto might be more appropriate: "Let us ask what we know and know what we ask."

Every political scientist or anyone else may address himself to the pages of PROD with a contribution of from 150 to 1500 words. A new issue will appear about every two months, and will be sent without charge for the time being to those who express an interest (10 copies to a contributor). Upon an author's request, his contribution may be published unsigned. Alfred de Grazia, Karl Deutsch, and Richard Snyder are temporarily PROD's principal agents, and others will be named from time to time. Eileen Lanfeld is Editorial Assistant. Address papers and inquiries to Alfred de Grazia, 306 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

1. A Center for Survey Research Materials

The Columbia University School of Library Service recently completed an investigation into the feasibility of establishing a library center of survey research materials. The emergence of the survey method has shifted the focus of research in the social sciences from the analysis of published statistics as almost the sole source of quantitative data about human behavior to the collection and analysis of new data designed to explore particular problems. Many surveys are conducted, however, at a cost which cannot be met by most social scientists. As a result, of the many social science scholars and graduate students trained in the use of survey methods, relatively few are able to obtain funds to conduct studies on their own.

At the same time, there is, ironically, inadequate use of existing data. Since most survey data are collected by commercial and governmental organizations and a few academic centers of applied social research and since for the most part they are focused on problems of a practical nature, considerable data which could be made to bear on problems of interest to scholars are never analyzed or made public. Pre-election polls, for example, which are collected in almost every democratic country, make it possible to specify in detail the social basis of each of the political parties and the changes over time in the electorate and to compare political patterns from country to country. Polls of consumer preferences contain a wealth of data on relative styles of life within and among countries. Existing survey data permits the investigation of a variety of relationships at small cost.

Unfortunately, little systematic effort is being made either to encourage the exploitation of such data or to preserve for the scholar of the future material which is at least as important as many of the documents and newspapers presently preserved by libraries. The American Institute of Public Opinion Research (Gallup Poll) has turned over its cards and files to Princeton University, and for some time, Hadley Cantril, who headed the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton, also received duplicates of IBM cards, questionnaires and schedules from some of the European Affiliates of Gallup. This effort, however, was discontinued about a year and a half ago.

The Elmo Roper organization has a similar arrangement with Williams College; its data are received and stored there. Although little use has been made of the Williams materials, in part because Williams is not a graduate center, increased use may result from the recent efforts of the Roper Public Opinion Research Center at Williams College to publicize its materials and machine facilities. Heretofore, the Williams project was guided by the consideration that it must serve as another element in an undergraduate curriculum in the liberal arts and sciences.

So far as is known, no other arrangements of this kind have materialized, other than very limited local efforts. The Minnesota Poll, for example, has made its data available to the University of Minnesota; the Institut für Demoskopie in Germany has an arrangement with the University of Frankfort by which scholars of that university can work on Institut materials; the Institut Francais d'Opinion Publique undertook negotiations with the French National Archives about a possible arrangement.

Perhaps the most ambitious attempt to bring together the results of public opinion research was the Cantril and Strunk Public Opinion 1935-1946. While undoubtedly useful, this volume provides only a limited look at what is available; it is not complete for the period it covers and in large part does not permit systematic comparisons to be made. Specialized supplements to it dealing primarily with questions bearing on international matters have been under preparation at the Instituut voor Perswetenschap, Amsterdam, and the Bureau of Social Science Research, Washington, D. C.

The weaknesses of these past efforts to bring together survey research materials are apparent. Therefore it is proposed that a center should be established which would perform the following main functions:

    a. Systematically collect survey research materials from various polling and research agencies, both commercial and academic, in the U. S. and in foreign countries. These materials, collected at such time as the agencies are through with and can release them, would include IBM punch cards, codes, sampling information, and any other pertinent information.

    b. Index the items of information included in each of the surveys and, if feasible, locate a copy of the index at each of the major universities.

    c. Periodically publicize, in an established professional journal or in some other way, the studies and materials collected and suggestions as to what can be done with them.

    d. Make the materials available to scholars in the form of duplicates of the original cards, codes, etc., so that scholars could then make their own tabulations. If feasible, the center should have the machine facilities to provide tabulations. These services would be provided at cost and generally would prove nominal.

It is believed that such a center would have a number of important benefits.

Survey data which now exist could be reanalyzed to serve the following purposes:

1. As the only source of knowledge about certain facts of behavior. There are many aspects of society for which the only reliable data available to describe them are survey data. The recent British book, The Politics of the Middle Class, by John Bonham, is a secondary analysis of thousands of interviews collected by the British Gallup Poll from 1945 to 1951. Without such material there would have been no way of dealing with the problem other than an investigation planned to collect such data. Bonham did this study without research funds.

2. As a means of testing hypotheses. The tremendous number of survey studies often permits replication of tests of relationships between variables in different contexts and times. In a study based on a San Francisco Bay area sample, for example, it was found that manual workers who are either upward or downward mobile as compared to their parents are less likely to belong to a labor union than those who are in the same socio-economic position. Does this relationship generally hold true? There are a number of surveys which have collected data on both variables, and rather than publishing a finding based on a limited set of data, one could check such a hypothesis drawn

4

out in an _ex post facto_ investigation by analyzing the others at very little cost.

3. The cumulation of cases.
   Progress in a given area of investigation often requires a greater specification of variables than is permitted in any one survey. Sample sizes limit the type or degree of refinement of classifications which can be used for analysis. Religious classification in the U. S., for example, is often limited to Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups, with the last usually too small for analysis. The cumulation of cases by bringing together surveys containing similar questions and variables makes possible increased multivariant specification of factors.

4. To prepare for new primary research. New research should be designed to build on previous work in a given area of investigation. Up to now this has meant building on published research. It should be possible to determine easily whether information had already been gathered relevant to the subject under investigation and to then engage in some preliminary secondary analysis which would assist in focusing the new research and making it more efficient.

5. To assist the work of the historian. The data now stored in the files of research organizations should prove an invaluable source of knowledge to the future historian, if they still exist. There is no assurance data are being preserved in the U. S. or in other countries; in fact, valuable and irreplaceable data has been lost or destroyed.

In addition, the center would would facilitate the following:

Maximizing the use of available social science talent: Most behavioral scientists in the U. S. who are located at small universities are extremely limited in the types of research they can do, because of the lack of facilities or funds. Many of them could undertake important studies if they were informed concerning the possibilities of secondary analysis and if the data to carry out research were made available to them.

Maximizing the use of research funds: The limited funds available to scholars for research and the high cost of collecting primary data emphasize the need for exploiting other research sources. Secondary analysis offers not only the possibility of extracting theoretically significant researches from freely available data, but also enhances the value of primary research by making possible preliminary analyses which may serve to sharpen hypotheses and provide tests of the "goodness" of questions.

Comparability of data collection: One of the activities of the center should be the encouragement of survey organizations to collect standardized "face sheet" information and to code such information in comparable categories. There is reason to believe that some success could be expected along these lines.

Cross-national research: The testing of generalizations in differing cultural settings is one of the goals of the behavioral sciences. Little has been done and too little is known about the problems involved in such research. Valuable preliminary work can be done without large financial investment by cross-national secondary analysis. Comparability of data collection is particularly important in this respect.

Student training: Such a center would serve student training in two ways: by providing instructors with

5

training materials and by permitting students to undertake analyses of data which otherwise would not be available to them. Secondary analysis has made possible a number of master's essays and doctoral dissertations; this has been limited, however, to students located at academic centers of research.

Preservation of data: A systematic effort is required if much of the valuable data being collected today is going to be made available to the social scientist and social historian of the future.

Not only is the proposed center desirable, it is also feasible. There appears to be little question about the availability of data now residing in the archives of or being collected by research organizations. On the basis of discussions with a number of academic research centers, polling agencies, and commercial and governmental research agencies, it is clear that wide cooperation may be anticipated. In fact, most organizations are eager to see greater utilization made of their data. Concomitantly, there appears to be consensus among academic social scientists as to the value and need of the proposed center and interest in utilizing its services. Apart from the problem of financial support, the main considerations are those of selection and screening of studies, and the development of appropriate archival procedures; these are difficult but not insoluble problems. Realistically, the process of developing wide and efficient utilization undoubtedly will require several years. More than this cannot be expected, for the task of the library center will be to promote and develop the use not merely of an archive of data but of a tool of research. The potential benefits, however, are goals worthy of the effort.

--York Lucci
Bureau of Applied
Social Research

2. Anthropological Study of Primitive Ruling Groups

Anthropological studies of primitive or non-literate peoples do not contribute largely or directly to an understanding of the political situation in the world today. None of the seventy-odd nation-states usually considered worthy of the name can in any strict sense be considered primitive. Even if one wishes to consider communities outside the boundaries of nation-states, the task of finding a pristine tribe is difficult. The tribes of darkest Africa bear the political imprint of European or other non-primitive nations superimposed on their own leadership, and this foreign control is recognized as existent, even though it may not always be considered just. The North American aborigines learned to respect the Great White Father, the Trobriander the Dutch administrator and the Andaman Islander the British. Given the technological state of warfare today, no primitive society, however impenetrable its surrounding country, can hold out against the force of a modern state bent on imposing its sovereignty. But if one excludes primitive peoples, a vast area rich for anthropological research is opened up, the area of colonial or recently dependent peoples, about one-quarter of the earth's land surface with about 400,000,000 persons, almost all within Asia, Africa and Oceania.

Respecting the methods of cultural anthropology--by contrast with its regional findings--the student of politics has little to learn in the way of special research procedures. He should have learned in school about spectator and participant methods of observation, if not in those exact words, at least in the reading of Herodotus and

Thucydides. The methods of cultural anthropology are rather simple. The other social sciences often use more complex observational and analytical procedures. However, though they may be simple of conception, the methods of cultural anthropology are taxing and time-consuming. In their studies of non-literate peoples anthropologists have found it necessary to learn new and strange languages and to live among the natives for relatively long periods. Applying this lesson one could say that the more communities begin to resemble primitive peoples, the more necessary it becomes to learn their language and live among them in order to understand what they do.

This, of course, does not simplify the problem. The ordinary field man cannot be expected to aspire to the career of T. E. Lawrence. Nor does the fact that these strange peoples are dominated primarily by Western countries make the task any easier. Instead of having to study one government or one group of rulers the field man has to study two or more totally different ruling groups. In addition to fathoming the role of the white Lieutenant-Governor or the Inspector of Sanitation, he may have to become acquainted with such unusual persons and offices as those of the Chief's Soul-washers, Minstrels, Executioners, and Elephant Tail-Switchers.

In general, however, the powers-that-be in primitive or non-literate societies are highly visible. No need to explore behind the intricacies of high finance or myriad interlocking associations: political and religious leadership is usually out in the open. Any child among the Sioux could point out to a stranger visiting his tribe a wichasha wakon (holy man) or a wichasha yatapika (man whom all praise). He could even outline the heirarchy from wichasha yatapika to akichita (councilor) to wachin tonka (chief). Among such peoples

new ruling members are admitted only after full solemn ceremonies, and outside the formal group there are relatively few if any informal leaders. Except in extraordinary circumstances such as a revolt against the whites, there are no secret bosses.

The difficulty arises in trying to understand the rules that such peoples use to guide their actions. Members of a community know infinite series of norms with which they not only direct their own steps but proceed to rely on the actions of each other. With a high probability they predict not so much the individual acts of their fellows as the possible range of acts. They know what is excluded from possibility. A study done in the United States can approach with confidence numerous kinds of persons or relationships among persons--the businessman as a stay-at-home leader, the journalist as an intellectual, the hotel manager as an informant, the rigidity of lawyers, the handy-man type, and so on. It can do this because without saying so explicitly it relies on a community of understandings and expectations sometimes called the Western world, which includes those nations descended from Greece and Rome and now industrialized largely or in part. As one gets away from this world of Europe and the Americas, grasping the actions of others becomes more difficult, participation in their work and play grows more awkward, and the stamp of the outsider--in color, clothes, gestures, walk, manners, food, and language--more difficult to eradicate. This last fact alone affects all studies based on interviewing; it also increases the necessity for trusted informants.

In trying to help the field man trace the rulership patterns of these peoples, some of the typical categories of analysis of cultural anthropology are useful. The concepts of age and sex

7

grading and kinship systems could be cited as examples. Women, usually and sometimes mistakenly absent from the typical study of political influence, may play, in some cultures, a quite powerful role. The Queen Mother of the Ashanti is "the whisper behind the Stool" of the Paramount Chief. The common belief that somewhere between forty-five and fifty-five years of age most political leaders have hit their stride and are at their peak of potency can be challenged as an applicable rule even in some areas of the Western world. It certainly would vary in other cultures. As for kinship systems, a diagram of political and family connections done for some of the highly politically organized tribes of Africa would not show the typically Western crop of brothers-in-law and sons-in-law that appears among American leaders in the early days of the Federal Union (see R. K. Lamb's chart in K. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication, 1953, Fig. 1). The differences in political organization of African peoples like the Ashanti or Neur can be sensed in organizational charts. A good diagram for the Ashanti can be found in R. S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution (Oxford, 1929), and one for Neur can be found in E. E. Evans Pritchard, The Neur (Oxford, 1940). The importance of kinship systems is not only that they involve duties to relatives, claims for help and property, and rules for intercourse, but that they also define the place of the stranger and thus fix the observational standpoint of the field man. In the study of ruling groups the fact that kinship systems are more than mere geneological exercises can be exemplified by the case of the Wolof and the Baganda, where descent is patrilineal except for the nobility and royalty, who stem from the mother, or by the case of the Tuareg where high office comes from the father and descent and inheritance from the mother.

As already mentioned, much of the mass of colonial peoples cannot be considered primitive or even non-literate. They are simply vastly different peoples. Nonetheless, the anthropological mindset toward differences among societies is valuable for the field man who has to work among dependent peoples, primitive or not as they may be. It is also valuable for those areas of the world, such as large parts of Asia or the Orient, that contain independent nations with religious and political traditions and cultural focuses greatly at variance with the Western world. The possession of a variety of analytical tools, anthropological and others, should enable the student of politics to keep in mind that the world is not divided into two sorts of people--the civilized and the primitive, New York on one side and the Veddas of Ceylon on the other--but that as he moves away from the Western world, the appearance of people and the kind of artifacts and the kind of norms of behavior one finds, all change. Sometimes the changes are what one expects. In a non-literate community one does not expect to find a press, and therefore would not apply the hypothesis that the concerns of a ruling class may be revealed through a study of the press. At other times the changes are not what one expects. The wise old man, familiar in fact and fiction, of many non-industrial peoples has no power or wealth in the usual meaning of the words, and his skill consists in being a sage, an attribute not found in schemes for coding skills. Poverty is also a characteristic of the ruling groups in certain cultures, and not merely the ones that stress contemplation or passivity. Among a number of North American Indian hunting and warrior tribes no one was a member of the ruling bodies who had not shed whatever wealth he had. No aboriginal Australian, leader or follower, seems to have thought much of wealth or possessions. Thus, of the four values often entertained in political studies--power, respect, wealth, and skill--only one can be expected to

characterize ruling groups every-where, and that is respect.

/Anthropological Study of Ruling

Groups In Non-Industrial Countries will be discussed in an early issue./

—Sebastian de Grazia
Twentieth Century Fund

3. Toward an International Glossary of Research in Public Opinion

Before World War II, the quantitative study of public opinion and political behavior was almost entirely confined to American soil. Western Europe first undertook large-scale quantitative projects and analyses in the social sciences after the war, and the attempt to assimilate American discoveries and techniques with utmost rapidity (in order to profit from new advances in the field) resulted in the appearance in the various European languages of unique and interesting etymological phenomena. Hundreds of new words or new meanings of old words have appeared in each of the languages. It is on the assumption that these linguistic phenomena can be isolated and examined, and possibly measured, that the study described here is based.

To date, only the German language has been employed in this study. After selecting specialized words from works published by various German polling and research organizations (all dealing with public opinion), the researcher saw an indication of the variety of origins of German public opinion vocabulary. The words chosen generally proved to be of four basic types:

1. Untranslated American terms (i.e., das "field work"). (It is conceivable that German usage may slightly have altered the meanings.)

2. Literal translations into German of American terms (i.e., die Leitstudie-- pilot study).

3. German technical terms from other fields of scholarship, to which new specialized meanings in opinion have been attached (i.e., die Mikro-Struktur--microstructure).

4. German lay vocabulary terms, to which new specialized meanings have been assigned (i.e., die offene Frage--open-ended or free-response question).

The objects of the project here outlined are two-fold: to examine a new specialized vocabulary, which developed with extraordinary rapidity, for weaknesses which might invite ambiguity; and to build out of the findings of this examination a multi-lingual glossary which might help to circumvent any possible ambiguity discovered. The study would be made in French, Italian, German, and possibly Swedish and Dutch.

Word selection would be undertaken according to one of two possible procedures: A "haphazard" method, based on slow and careful reading of each work on public opinion research which has appeared in the language concerned, might be adopted; all terms which display characteristics under observation would be isolated and noted. Or, as an alternative, the selection might be based upon a working American glossary constructed from the indices of a group of standard works selected by experts; in the latter case, foreign-language words or phrases

9

equivalent in meaning to those in the American glossary would be listed.

To validate the selection, a modest defining dictionary in the language under observation might be employed as a limiting device: any term not appearing in the dictionary selected, or appearing with a different meaning in the dictionary, would be considered rightly part of the "specialized vocabulary." Another possible test could be administered by a panel of experts, whose opinions as to whether each word listed should properly be included in the "vocabulary" would be taken as final.

In defining each foreign word, either the contextual meaning or the meaning supplied by bilingual or unilingual experts in public opinion research might be that adopted; a combination of both could well be the basis for the definitions in the glossary.

The final presentation could take the form of (1) a series of bilingual glossaries; (2) a multilingual glossary; (3) a quantitative study of the etymology of rapid word growth in the transference of technique in the behavioral sciences. Specifically, the first product of the above process would be a glossary in each of the languages studied, each time coupled with English. From this, a multilingual glossary would be constructed; in addition, the words in each language might be sub-grouped according to etymology, and conclusions drawn on the basis of this grouping. The result would be a valuable tool for clarification of each language's vocabulary of research in public opinion as well as for solution of semantic difficulties in the planning, administration, and analysis stages of international opinion surveys.

--Eileen S. Lanfeld
PROD Staff

4. An Opinion Reporting Workshop

/The School of Journalism at Columbia University, through Dean Edward W. Barrett, announced on October 27, 1957, the establishment of an Opinion Reporting Workshop under the direction of Samuel Lubell. The Advisory Board of the Workshop includes Professors Paul Lazarsfeld, Wallace Sayre, David Truman and Dr. Henry M. Wriston together with several newspaper editors, among them George Healy, Lee Hills, Alexander F. Jones, Vincent Jones, Kenneth MacDonald, James S. Pope, William P. Stevens, and Walker Stone. The following notes were prepared by Mr. Lubell for use in discussion of the project.7

In its operations the Opinion Reporting Workshop would combine classroom seminars with actual grass roots interviewing of how the public feels about the more important issues of our time.

The field interviewing would be organized so each study would be a simultaneous probing of:

1. the problems editors and others face in communicating information and opinion to the public;

2. the basic causes behind public attitudes on these questions and what can be done about it;

3. how to improve techniques of measuring and reporting public opinion.

Area of Field Studies.--

As to subject matter, the field interviewing would concentrate upon six general problem areas:

A. atomic energy and nuclear power with all their stra-

10

tegic implications, including civilian defense;

B. foreign policy;

C. racial and ethnic tensions;

D. major economic issues, including changing attitudes towards business, labor and agriculture; also the effects of inflationary pressures and habits of saving, buying and borrowing;

E. suburban expansion and other problems growing out of the concentration of population in metropolitan areas;

F. educational policy and problems.

Taken together these six areas cover most of the important issues facing our society.

Naturally, all these problems would not be studied simultaneously. However, a number of the issues would be studied together. To perfect methods that will yield penetrating reports on public opinion one must be able to measure the feelings and thoughts of people on varied issues rather than on one kind of issue alone.

Often, in fact, the key to why people think as they do will be found in how attitudes towards one question combine or conflict with attitudes towards other issues--as when economic interest clashes with views on foreign policy, on racial questions, and so on.

Changing Generations. --

In all the surveys undertaken special care would be exercised to determine how the attitudes of different generations vary on the same issues.

My researches into voting convince me that one of the keys to the pace of historic change is the interplay of successive generations. The current period happens to be an unusually sensitive time for studying this since the experience span of our three main generations differs so markedly.

One part of the public still harks back to the pre-depression period for emotional identifications.

Another part of the public is the carrier of all of the agitations of the depression-World War II years.

Then there is a rising postwar generation to whom both the 1920's and the depression years are little more than chapters in history textbooks.

A Study of Communication. --

The Workshop surveys would also seek to measure the effectiveness and influences of varied forms of mass communication. The field interviewing would be organized to determine how much actual information and comprehension people possess on the issues at stake. In some communities the cooperation of editors could be enlisted for intensive testing of the effectiveness of specific efforts to increase the public's knowledge of some question. I can see, for example, how some newspaper which is about to run a series of articles on a subject might ask the Workshop to survey the community before and after the series appears. This could also be done with television programs and other educational efforts.

Such studies would have a general applicability and importance. If we are to come to a true understanding of the role of public opinion in a democracy we must learn how to distinguish when a particular problem stems from a lack of understanding and when it reflects the inadequacy of government policy or deeper social con-

flicts embedded in our society or a lag in adjusting habitual attitudes to the new requirements of a changing world.

For example, in the spring of 1956 I did some interviewing in Michigan on attitudes toward foreign aid. I found that the strongest opponents of foreign aid were retired persons. Even at the same age, retired persons were more opposed to foreign aid than persons still in the labor force.

This seemed an important variant and I pressed questions to try to find out why. The number of persons interviewed was not large enough to permit a definitive judgment but the responses indicated that the key to the opposition to foreign aid láy in a sensitivity to inflation.

Older people, still in the labor force, had a trade union to which they could turn to offset rising prices and this reconciled them more easily to government spending. Once a person moved out of the labor force, however, he or she lost the means of offsetting price rises with wage increases. The tendency was to turn violently against all forms of spending and against foreign aid in particular since it was going abroad.

I cite this because it illustrates so well the importance of being able to distinguish between an information and an economic problem. An "educational" program which emphasizes how much more interdependent the world has grown will not gain converts for foreign aid if opposition to aid reflects economic hardship that is being suffered because of inflation.

Tie-In With Public Policy.--

The field interviewing would also be organized to give the findings the greatest practical applicability to our governmental needs.

In organizing any study we would try to achieve the effect of

putting ourselves in the position of key administrators struggling with a particular problem, and then frame the survey to get the answers needed for more effective government.

In this respect perhaps I should emphasize that I am not one of those who believe that it is good enough simply to "give the people what they want." The choices we face in this atomic world are not so kind, and I believe it is the responsibility of our leaders to lead the people in what is right.

To dramatize this I would like to add something new to the Workshop reports--to conduct our studies and report the findings so as to make clear not only "what the people want" but how these desires conflict, if they do, with our national needs.

A Study of Leadership.--

This kind of total approach would govern all our studies. The end aim of the Workshop is to improve our ability to govern ourselves. To accomplish this we must go further than trying to perfect more sensitive means of tapping people on their knees to see how high their prejudices jump.

This cannot be emphasized too strongly. Merely to perfect better methods of measuring public opinion is not good enough. By itself in fact this could prove rather dangerous. The systematic unveiling of popular prejudices could lead government officials to neglect the real interests of the nation in favor of a course of popular approval.

It will be a sad day for democratic government when readings of the public temperature are substituted for leadership. Yet this tendency, already so strong, seems to be gaining on us.

I have thought a good deal about how to combat this drift. I be-

12

lieve it is largely a problem of journalism. Obviously, we must expect that with time the techniques for ferreting out and exploiting people's emotions will become ever more sensitive and more widely used.

What is needed, I believe, is a new way of reporting public opinion.

Instead of limiting our reporting to what proportion of the people feel this way or that way on some issue, we should go further and focus on the three-way interplay between public feelings, leadership and the problem itself.

An Educational Experiment.--

The Workshop program should prove of special significance to schools of journalism. Generally, journalism schools tend to teach an imitation of established newspaper practice. Through the Workshop program we will be teaching techniques ahead of established practice. We will have the opportunity to pioneer in developing and teaching techniques of reporting. If we succeed in leading the way, we can win a new prestige for schools of journalism generally.

For the present journalism students who stay at the school only one year, the Workshop teaching program should consist in the main of a series of overall, introductory lectures on the nature of public opinion to be followed by the actual carrying through of a trial-run study on at least one issue.

This demonstration project would be conducted so that at every step students would receive instruction and training in the basic journalistic skills. They would learn how to dig out the essential facts of a problem, how to think through its ramifications as regards public opinion. They would interview people and write up the results.

For Working Newsmen.--

In addition, it would be our hope to offer a more intensive program of full-time, specialized work for second-year students, some of whom could be drawn from other parts of the University. This program would also be open to working newspapermen, several editors having expressed the desire to be able to send members of their staff to the Workshop for training.

Perhaps it is worth emphasizing that the Workshop program is not designed to turn out potential "pollsters" or to train students in some narrow, specialized technique. I see the Workshop strengthening all of the skills and sensitivities that are necessary for good journalism in any and every field. In fact, to the extent that we succeed in our basic objective--of learning to see the role of public opinion as part of the total picture-- we will be leaving the student with an approach, awarenesses and skills which will be highly useful not only in journalism but in any field of endeavor and even in simply being better citizens of a better society.

--Samuel Lubell
Columbia University School
of Journalism

5. UNESCO's English-Language Dictionary of Social Science

Background of the Project.--

Resolution 3.13 adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at

its seventh session (Paris, 1952) authorized the Director-General to publish lists and multi-lingual catalogues of scientific and tech-

nical terminology, or to facilitate their publication; and to encourage the appropriate organizations to standardize scientific and technical terminology in the principal languages of the world.

On the basis of this resolution, it was decided in 1952 to proceed with the preparation of a dictionary of social science terminology to serve as a reference work for social scientists and students, specialists in other sciences, translators, and, in general, members of the public at large anxious to keep abreast of social science progress through familiarity with its technical vocabulary.

At Unesco's proposal, a committee of experts met in May, 1954, under the chairmanship of Professor Morris Ginsberg of the London School of Economics. This committee agreed on a number of principles that are set forth in its General Report dated July 1, 1954. These principles and instructions issued shortly thereafter served as a basis for a pilot study, in which working committees in Belgium, France, the Saar, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States worked out definitions of various social science terms. The terms defined by the various working groups were selected from a list of some 230 words on the theme of the social implications of technological change taken from three social science works in this area of research. Each group prepared definitions of fifty terms.

After the completion of the pilot project in 1955 another meeting of experts was called by Unesco in May 1956. At this meeting it was decided to attempt the preparation of a French language dictionary and an English language dictionary, each to contain definitions of 1200 basic terms in the social sciences. It was further decided that Professor William L. Kolb of Tulane University and Professor S. J. Gould of the London School

of Economics would serve as editors of the English language dictionary, with Professor Robert C. Stone, also of Tulane, serving as assistant editor. Serving on the British advisory and editorial board are M. Ginsberg, W. Harrison, J. C. Rees, W. A. Robson, I. Schapera, K. B. Smallie, P. A. Stirling, and B. Wootton; on the American board sit David Bidney, David McCord Wright, David Truman, Kimball Young, and Herbert Blumer.

After the work is completed, Unesco will call another meeting of experts to examine the manuscripts, make final recommendations, and discuss possibilities for expanding the work into other languages. Unesco will be responsible for finding publishers for the completed work.

Importance of the Project.--

It is, of course, too much to hope that any dictionary, however well-prepared, can by itself standardize or render precise the language of the social sciences. Yet a dictionary which concisely sets forth the development of the usages of the terms it defines, describes the varying definitions of a term as it has been and is used within different traditions, and attempts to find and set forth the core of common meaning of a term when such a core is present is one of the necessary steps in seeking to improve the terminology of the social sciences. Such a dictionary would be of service to a wide public which is most eager to possess an accurate working tool both more concise than an encyclopedia and more complete in its coverage of varying usage and potential common meanings in the various disciplines and traditions within the disciplines than existing dictionaries. It would be of use to specialists in social science in the English language who need a terminological work to which they can refer constantly. It would be of service to translators and to those working in areas of the

14

world where the social sciences are just emerging. Finally, it would be of help to the members of the educated public, including journalists, lawyers, students, and others who need familiarity with social science terminology.

It is not the intention of Unesco and those working on the project to create another Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. Exclusively historical terms, proper names of people and geographic places, and theoretical essays will have no place in it. Rather the attempt will be made to create a dictionary of the basic terms in social science, to provide for social scientists what Lalande, in his Vocabulaire Technique et Critique de la Philosophie, provided for philosophers. It is not contemplated that the discussion of any term will be more than a page in length. In the case of all terms an effort will be made to indicate the etymology of the term; the development of scientific usages of the term in modern times; the variation of scientific usage in different disciplines, traditions, and English-speaking countries; and, finally, the common core of meaning, if any, that can be found. Thus the reader of any work in the social sciences written in the English language, including the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, will be able to find in it usable definitions of basic social science terms.

At the same time the dictionary will go beyond existing dictionaries in several respects. In the preparation of the list of terms to be defined, in defining them, and in revising their definitions, the cooperation of persons working in all the social science disciplines has been and will be sought. An effort will be made to see that the dictionary will be usable in all the English language societies of the world. While it will not be possible to define all the technical terms peculiar to each discipline, every effort will be made to see that the dictionary

is genuinely inter-disciplinary in character. Finally, the description of the varying usages of a term and the search for a common meaning in those usages should assure the result that the dictionary will be more than a simple glossary.

Procedure. --

Preliminary lists in sociology, social psychology, anthropology, political science, and economics were drawn up and submitted to members of the various social science disciplines. The lists were then revised in light of the suggestions received. The political science list includes somewhat under 300 terms. To illustrate the range of the list, the first ten terms beginning with "A" may be cited: absolutism, adjudication, administration, aggression, agitation, agrarian, allegiance, alliance, amendment, and anarchism.

The editors selected a wide range of experts in the various disciplines to prepare definitions. Each definition will include etymology, the development of usages in the social sciences, variations in usage, and, if possible, an attempted synthesis of the common core of meanings. The definer is asked to consult both American and British sources; and to consult with his colleagues in other disciplines about usage in those disciplines. The length of each definition will not normally exceed 1,000 words and will vary according to the complexity of the concept.

After the definitions are received from the people preparing them, they will be submitted to selected critics for suggestions and criticism. Where terms appear to have different meanings in different disciplines or traditions, an effort will be made to get suggestions from people in those disciplines and traditions. The editors will evaluate sug-

15

gestions for revision in consultation with one another and with an inter-disciplinary group at their respective institutions. The definitions will then be returned to those preparing the definitions in order that they may incorporate or reject the suggestions that have been made. The editors will reserve the right to final decision when agreement concerning changes cannot be reached.

The work of the editors will consist in the selection of definers and critics; the editing of the definitions; the submission of definitions to critics for advice and counsel; the transmission of criticism and advice to people preparing the definitions; the final editing, revision, and acceptance of definitions; the collating of the definitions and the preparation of the complete manuscript.

--William L. Kolb
Tulane University

6. A Quantitative Study of the Political Process

A possible approach to the study of the political process would include the following four basic elements:

(1) A series of quantitative profiles as five major steps in the political process:

    a. public discussion
    b. public opinion formation
    c. legislative (and executive) discussion and opinion formation
    d. enactment
    e. enforcement

At the moment, public opinion polls and roll call analyses provide two important techniques giving insight into steps "b" and "d". Content analysis of the <u>Congressional Record</u> and legislative hearings (in spite of the inevitable warp introduced by centralized control) could give some measurement of "c", at least as far as legislative proceedings are concerned. Some basic data on enactment is available in legislative roll calls. Content analysis of selected media of communication could provide an index for step "a". Enforcement, where this is pertinent, offers peculiar difficulties of measurement, although the data given by the Wages and Hours and Public Contracts Division of the Department of Labor on number of inspections made and percent of violations per inspection provide some quantitative clues. In short, we have some tools to begin the study.

(2) The second element of this approach is the denomination of standard units of measurement. Thus it might be possible to establish a series of standard scales for the measurement of public discussion, public opinion, and legislative opinion. These phenomena could then be discussed in terms of magnitudes, both absolute and relative to each other.

(3) The third element is the establishment of standard symbols so that manipulation of these terms and magnitudes is made easy. Thus D would represent one magnitude of discussion and DV would represent volume of public discussion measured on a standard scale through the techniques of content analysis. O would represent public opinion and OF would indicate the level of favorable opinion. L would represent legislative discussion and LV would represent the volume of legislative discussion, etc.

(4) Finally, after standard units and symbolic terms are agreed upon, the groundwork is laid for the construction of

16

models, which may hold true for various classes of cases. These models, comparable to the models developed in economic theory, would then express relationships between the various elements of the political process in precise and concise terms. On a very simple level several possible uses may be suggested:

a. In the study of comparative government it might be possible to compare the differences between the relationship of discussion to legislative activity $\frac{L}{D}$ in a more precise fashion. The construction of models for different political systems would in itself be fruitful.

b. Changing patterns of government would be revealed in a time series. Models incorporating trend factors might then be useful in predicting future changes.

c. Models could be used in examining the pathology of the political process-- the measurement of regional distortion, delay, party leverage.

To make these suggestions more concrete, possible specific steps in quantifying the political process of some given issue are submitted below.

1. Using content analysis techniques a composite index of discussion compiled from sources which include, say, The Nation, intermediate publications, and The Wall Street Journal is constructed. This index measures three dimensions: (a) volume of discussion, (b) direction (positive-negative balance) of discussion, (c) mean or mode on a left-right scale, indicated by location of references in the various journals. (Where desirable, similar procedure is followed with respect to radio programs with scripts derived from the files of selected broadcasting companies.) This is done in a time series showing the development of discussion over a stated period (omitting exceptional years). The relationship of the four elements of the discussion index are then noted. For example, does the volume of discussion decline as the mean moves from left to right on the "left-right scale" so that the most vigorous and voluminous discussion is always on the right, even though there is eventual agreement?

2. Where there is a record of public opinion polls on the issue this data is noted. Regional, class and other breakdowns are observed for possible future significance.

3. The relationship between public discussion and public opinion is then analyzed. Thus, it might be found that 3D on a public discussion scale level is equivalent to 10 percent "don't know" in the public opinion polls. It might further be found that only when discussion is centered beyond, say, .35 on a left-right public discussion scale is there a majority opinion in favor of the measure. Perhaps it would be possible, furthermore, to define levels of discussion in terms of effect on opinion. Thus if 3D is equivalent to 10 percent "don't know" and 4D is equivalent to 8 percent "don't know" it might be said that one D (social security) raises the level of awareness 2 percent, at least within a given range.

4. Using content analysis techniques a composite index of legislative discussion and opinion is constructed (L). This index measures four dimensions: (1) level, (2) direction, (3) party solidarity, (4) regional solidarity. Using roll call techniques, confirming data along the same lines are recorded. The interrelationships of these factors are then noted. For example, what is the

17

volume and complexion of L which precedes enactment, E? Comparison with other measures might establish a "normal threshold" for E, in terms of L.

5. The relationship of these data to the previous data is then explored. Is the correlation between L and D greater or less than the correlation between L and O? Perhaps x increment of D is followed by y increment of L regardless of effect on O. Is DV (volume) or DD (direction) or DLR (left-rightedness) the best guide to L?

Analysis at this point may also offer an opportunity to study the pathology of the political process. For example, to what extent is the relationship of legislative enactment (E) to public discussion (D) skewed on a range of issues by regional forces (R)? Do these systematically distort the relationship of national majority opinion to legislative action? Could it be shown, for example, that, whereas under certain circumstances 5 DV is equivalent to 3 LV (volume of discussion in the legislature), under those conditions where LV and E are functions of R, 10 DV (or more) is equivalent to 3 LV, or (in the case of a filibuster), only 3 DV is equivalent to 3 L. Where D-North and D-South reflect totally different complexions, the differential may give a figure for R (RD) useful in interpreting regional distortions in the legislature (RL).

6. With sufficient comparative material, based upon a number of politicametrical studies, it should be possible to discover the effect of periodic elections upon the D-O-L-E process. To what extent do they hasten, delay, and re-orient the process--and to what extent are there indices which might be discovered in, say, party literature to indicate what the probabilities in a given election are with respect to any individual issue?

7. The D-O-L-E process, unlike some, is reversible. We know that E usually acts to increase O by ten percent. What is the "reverberation effect" between L and D? What is the effect of E on D?

8. The relationship between levels of evasion and violation (where these data are not influenced by varying enforcement practices) and the several components of D and O may be noted. Is violation a function of public opinion; if so, which public?

These studies are, of course, merely suggestions of possible areas of investigation and techniques for analysis. They seem, at least to the author, to open up avenues of fruitful research.

--Robert E. Lane
Yale University

7. THE GAME BAG:
Correspondence; The Josephus Problem;
An Exercise in Nomenclature, Etc.

The ambiguous title of this column suggests that we have a place here both for comments that have PROD as their target and for various general remarks.

To begin with the former, Ralph Goldman writes: "I hope it is not too late to reconsider the name. General comments I picked up at the APSA meetings included: 'How about JAB instead of PROD?' Sounds like a Soviet organ.' 'Too cute.'...How about 'Project' as a close substitute." Of course "P.R.O.D." abbreviates a longer,

meaningful title; by coincidence, it forms a word. However, it is never to late to repent, and someday we may.

* * * *

A reader urges we print the institutional identity of our authors. "I know where they are, but do your French readers?" Very well; this issue carries the firm label. The September cast included David Easton of University of Chicago, Karl Deutsch of M.I.T., Lane Davis of Iowa, Richard Snyder of Northwestern, Robert Lane of Yale, Alfred de Grazia, residing at Princeton, N. J., Ithiel de Sola Pool, this year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Ralph Goldman of Michigan State, Roy Carter of North Carolina, Robert Horn of Stanford, this year at Dartmouth, Gabriel Almond of Princeton, Juan Linz of U. C. at Berkeley, this year at Madrid, Spain, and Joseph LaPalombara and John T. Dorsey of Michigan State.

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Carl Stover of The Brookings Institution says PROD is "well-conceived, well-executed" and writes: "Your presentation of the Josephus Problem on the front cover was most interesting. However, you failed to indicate the appropriate point on the circle at which the counting should begin. This point is at the C at the bottom of the circle, from which you count through four C's and five T's in order to reach the first Turk who is to be dumped overboard. If you start at some other point, for example the T at the top of the circle, you wind up dumping two Turks and one Christian overboard in the first three counts. Another interesting sidelight on this problem is that if you start at the proper place and count around until you eliminate all Turks but one and then begin with that one Turk to count in the reverse direction, all of the Christians will be eliminated and that Turk will be the sole survivor." (This will placate one reader, who felt we were exhibiting colonial pre-

judice. The slip was in production, and brought its own punishment to the insomniac culprit, who exhausted all the possibilities out of his own curiosity.)

* * * *

Another aspect of PROD is treated in a commendatory letter from a foundation executive: "A clear pattern (should) be followed with respect to the status of the research being described. Is it research now being conducted by the author or others? Is it research currently being financed through some special grant? Or, is it research which is in need of support?...Certainly the private foundation with an interest in research of the kind presented in PROD would find it useful to have answers to the foregoing questions." A little content analysis of the first issue permits a guess that there is a progression of intent ranging from the man who is seeking support for a precise design right now to the man who is writing about a general methodological need in political science. Until a valid classification emerges from experiences or is suggested, we should probably leave the positioning of a project to the discretion of the author and the inferential powers of the reader.

* * * *

There were numerous heartening comments such as: "You have sold me and the money is enclosed herewith" (Robert E. Merriam, U. S. Bureau of the Budget); "... very nice, congratulations!" (Alexander George, RAND Corporation); "general value of such a published 'clearing house' in political behavior is great" (Edwin H. Rhyne, William and Mary); "a very interesting and stimulating publication" (Glendon Schubert, Michigan State). Each day up to press time has brought its encouragement: "particularly beneficial to persons like myself who try to keep abreast of developments" (an overworked state college professor); "many thanks.... have been hearing about it from a number of our colleagues" (a

19

federal official); "think it has real possibilities" (J. David Singer); "even a quick look at PROD shows me that it will be of considerable interest to policy and research people in Washington" (also a federal official); "congratulations.... The contributors and contents speak for themselves, and I am certain the publication will have considerable influence in the field"(Richard P. Ettinger, Jr., President, Wadsworth Publishing Company); "Good luck to you'(James K. Pollock, Michigan). Some expressed interest or concern over PROD's financing. Its costs are advanced out of pocket and out of subscriptions and advertisements. No attempt to get foundation support is presently contemplated. Our costs will stay low and one day our income will rise to equal them.

* * *

The remarks above concerning PROD's name bring to mind the experience of the Editor in finding a word to describe the active citizenry. He ended up choosing an ancient rare term, "politist," but meanwhile received the following enlightening discursion from Professor Arthur Lynch of the Department of Greek and Latin Classics of Brown University:

Dear de Grazia:

A propos of our etymological discussion at lunch, there are some actual ancient words which might serve your purpose:

ἐνδότερος

endóterus 'insiders'. The English singular could be endóterus or éndoter, the plural endóteri or éndoters.

μελεδωνός

meledónus 'guardian' 'steward'. Sing. meledónus or méledon, plu. meledóni or méledons.

μελόμενος

melómenos 'one who is busy at or concerned with'. I feel that only one sing., melómenus,

and one plural, melómeni, would be proper for this one.

Of new coinages these may be worth considering. Pliocrat, chrésicrat, and usípotent. Pliocrat is made of 'more' and 'power' by analogy with other new coinages in English. Chresicrat is from 'use' and 'power'. The words in -crat are good because the -crat element has been so long in English that neither the singular nor the plural has a pedantic look. The Latin for chresicrat would be usipotent--a good adjective perhaps, but awkward as a noun.

Méletist, mentioned at lunch, is a possibility, but to the skilled word-maker would reveal a flaw--not, however, a greater flaw than many made words have.

I hope this helps.

Yours, Arthur Lynch.

P.S. Meledon contains a suggestion of formal responsibility--maybe you won't want that.

P.P.S. Melemenus suggests the opposite of apathy-- probably that's the right idea? Similarly meletist.

The Greeks had many words for it!

* * * *

The board of managers of Haverford College have decided that research grants by the Defense Department constitute a "threat to free academic inquiry in America" and are inconsistent with pacifist principles. Other agencies presumably do not level such threats. There is place in PROD for brief discussions of the effects of government participation in research, with regard to the general political problems here cited and to the particular

question of aid to research in Political Science. We would entertain ideas on these subjects.

--The Editor

8. A New Type of Who's Who for a New Elite

An earth-wide reference source is needed to contain data on men who, because of the nature of their activities, skills and conscious attitudes, are connected with the problems of a Community of Men.

As a child I used to listen to a European globe-trotter tell of his famous explorations of Africa. He told once about tribes that had the following agreement governing their continuous, bloody feuds: Once the day of the battle was established, the sage and venerable elders, the artisans, and the witch-doctors-- in other words, the men of knowledge--from both tribes, together with the women and children, assembled in a neutral area. This area might not be invaded under any circumstances by the fighting parties.

Just before World War II, the explorer's son followed in his father's footsteps to the same tribe. By this time some European-educated members of the tribes had emerged as leaders. The technique of warfare had advanced to more sophisticated surprise raids in which warriors, "men of knowledge", women, and children had their skulls cracked indiscriminately in the best tradition of civilization.

I suppose it would be highly realistic to expect from technologically advanced societies the creation of a neutral zone where men of knowledge could be spared to work for the benefit of Man. Nevertheless, at this time it might be very useful for the reasons which follow to have an international roster of men who are doing so.

The proposed international Who's Who would be entirely different in character from present publications of this type. (I find that there are twenty-five works purporting to be international biographical collections, and 428 of a national character.) First, it would be truly international, including men from the Soviet Union and the areas under its influence. Available publications are heavily weighted in favor of English-speaking societies.

Second, the criteria for selection of the men and type of data published about them should be changed. Primarily the change would be away from the "power" or "fame" obsession. A functional approach might be used, in which all possible areas of human endeavor which have or will have in the future some impact upon human affairs, regardless of national boundaries, would be embraced.

A few specific examples would be men working on the problems of outer space, atomic energy, painless surgery, decision-making processes, as well as men preoccupied with automation, the processing of seaweed into foodstuffs, officials of international organizations who could be classified as international civil servants, etc. Not "fame" but specialization, its pertinence to building a Community of Men, and the value of the contribution made toward this end, would be the criteria for inclusion into the volume.

Moreover, the presently available compilations, besides having inclinations toward national bias, do not provide functional indexes. The men are grouped in alphabetical order; that is all. It

is not possible to locate immediately in these sources, for example, a man who is a specialist in manpower allocation, or one who specialized in the problem of harnessing the sun's energy, even if they were listed in such publications.

For which purposes could the proposed international Who's Who be used? There seem to be four main objectives: (1) the identification of persons and fields directly promoting the interest of the human race; (2) the provision of opportunities for men preoccupied with the future of Man to locate in a single source colleagues with similar or related interests across national boundaries; (3) the provision of a source for policy-makers preoccupied with long-range planning; (4) the collection of personal data prior to the selection of men to be included in the volume through a well-designed and pre-tested questionnaire and a subsequent content analysis may provide some basis for the empirical assessment of cross-cultural environmental factors which contribute to the desire to work for the benefit of Man.

As a political scientist, this writer is fully aware that in terms of operational values an "Earth Community" does not exist at this time. Nevertheless, it is very likely that within the years to come an intensified exchange of information to solve functional problems will be required from men of knowledge. It might be propitious to have ready a guide to these men. It seems safe to assume that professional societies in all nations would cooperate in such a venture.

To reach an agreement on the criteria for selection and proper classification of men might be difficult but it could be achieved through interdisciplinary consultation, perhaps through a network of panels or perhaps preferably through the screening procedures established by the interdisciplinary staff. Such a compilation of data on a new elite could be published every ten years, with supplements at lesser intervals of time.

--J. K. Zawodny
Princeton University

9. Forecasting Trends in the American Future

In a previously published work selected for the Council of Europe 1954 Award, the author has developed a practical tool for measuring the condition and direction of any given culture or civilization. The device is the measurement of the "image of the future" of that culture or civilization because, as he has established through rigorous application of his theory to historical events, the actual future is largely determined by what the people of a society think their future is going to be. If a civilization has optimistic ideas, dynamic inspirations and cohesive ambitions, the civilization will prosper and grow. If it exhibits negative trends, uncertain ideals and hesitant faith,

then the society is in danger of disintegrating.

We now propose to measure the American concepts about America's future as they were one hundred and fifty years ago when the nation was beginning its spectacular rise to strength and leadership, how these ideas have changed, what they may be now, and, therefore, what trends can be identified and charted into the future. Fundamental principles of justice, personal freedom and political liberty, the traditions of enterprise, opportunity and property which have shaped American democracy will all be examined in the light of their influence on expectations of the past and present.

22

The American's idealistic hopes, his faith in himself and his country's destiny, will be assessed to discover their force and effect today. The evolution of our economic system and social values, our literature and our domestic life, our willingness to work, our capacity for technology, will be studied and extended in the search for guides in forecasting the future.

An undertaking of this scope will have many and varied practical uses. Three applications appear to be especially significant.

1. By determining the present trends of America towards the future, it is possible to devise measures which will improve the outlook and reduce or avoid potential dangers. If a civilization can fall or a society disintegrate because its "image of the future" is negative, it is obvious wisdom to determine the present condition of America's image, taking such action as necessary to avert such a disaster. More positively, at this decisive and dangerous time in world affairs, it must be our policy to implement and strengthen our traditional image of man's right to freedom, dignity and happiness-- a dynamic image which can be shared by all men.

2. By studying the concepts, patterns and tendencies which make up our American "image," it should be possible to plot specific projections which business, industry and government may use in planning future programs. It may even be possible to develop statistical indices or barometers of image-effect to guide business and industrial policy by forecasting prospects in many areas.

3. Since virtually every idea, belief and action connected with America's past is pertinent to the investigation, large quantities of raw and processed data will become available for use in each of the specific social science disciplines. In addition, the "image of the fu-

ture" concept may provide a tool for unifying the social sciences in approaching problems which require practical solutions for human progress.

There are three main ways to assess possible changes in the American outlook, especially changes from faith and optimism to insecurity and pessimism. Two ways are indirect, the last one is direct:

First, to look for the apparent changes in the structure of American society and culture and then to analyze the nature of and reasons for these changes, with the focus on future trends.

Second, to look for the apparent changes in public opinion and American ideology and analyze the nature of and reasons for these changes, again with reference to future trends.

Third, to look for the changes of the prevalent expectations for the future and to analyze the nature of and reasons for these changes.

After this three-fold analysis it would be necessary to connect the three parts and assess their interdependency as well as their respective weights in the total outcome of relative changes in optimism and pessimism. Also the whole is different from the three parts. It is therefore necessary:

Fourth, to have a total picture of the driving forces, dynamics and ultimate goals, so as to know:

a. the underlying philosophy of today both in its explicit and implicit forms

b. the American images of the future

23

c. the explicit American message to the world as a promise for tomorrow

d. the quality of the messianic spirit and missionary zeal to fulfill this promise and perspective.

I. The Change in Characteristics of the Structure of American Society and Culture.--

A. Relationship between explicit value systems and the social structure.
B. Specific expressions of American arts.
C. American government, justice and civil rights.
D. American bureaucracy (civil and military) and leadership.
E. American social organization and disorganization (incl. crime, race relations, divorce and disertion).
F. American economy and industrial relations (incl. labor, professions, white collar, social stratification).
G. American religious life: dominant theologies; the role of Billy Graham; church-habits of non-institutional forms of religion.
H. The role of American science and technology.
I. American mass-media of recreation.
J. American school-systems and higher education.

II. The Changes in American Public Opinion and Ideology.--

A. The American role in the world; foreign policy; attitudes toward Europe, Africa, Asia; isolationism vs. internationalism; war and peace.
B. Attitudes on population: local and world malthusian problem; colored races; immigration.

C. Attitudes toward American and world resources; conservation vs. technology; attitudes on international cooperation and control of limited resources.
D. Manners and morals. Emily Post and Kinsey: changing attitudes toward sex roles.
E. Attitudes towards courting and dating, marriage and divorce.
F. Attitudes toward child-rearing.
G. Attitudes toward education (public, private, technical and higher).
H. Youth culture.
I. Attitudes toward old age and death (lowered infant mortality, longer life-expectancy).
J. Attitudes toward occupational status, from professional and laboring class, and including status of working women and housewives; attitudes toward social mobility.
K. Attitudes toward civil rights and political power; authoritarian vs. liberal attitudes.
L. Changes in the character of the feminist movement (role of woman as woman).
M. Attitudes toward crime (incl. juvenile delinquency) and punishment (incl. rehabilitation of criminals).
N. Attitudes toward medicine, including preventive medicine, public health and psycho-somatic medicine.
O. Attitudes toward role of science and technology:
   1. Atomic energy;
   2. Second industrial revolution, automation.
P. Attitudes toward role of philosophy and idealism.
Q. Attitudes toward fashions and fads.

III. American Expectations and Their Change.--

A. World-View; Attitudes toward:

B.

C.

D.

E.

24

1. meaning of history;
2. divine and human power in history;
3. end of the world;
4. Kingdom of Heaven on earth;
5. destiny of mankind;
6. the shape of things to come (national scene and international scene);
7. America's role and task.

B. Time-View; Attitudes toward:
1. past;
2. present;
3. future--
short term - long term; limited frontier - endless perspective; earthly - cosmic.

C. General View of Man.
1. good vs. evil nature;
2. perfectibility vs. unchangeable human nature;
3. activity - passivity;
4. industrial man versus handcrafter;
5. robot-man vs. Man the Brain.

D. Individual Expectations.
1. Marriage: (a) Expectations regarding roles of partner and self; (b) family-size, spacing; (c) role of family (internally, for members; externally, for community).
2. Education: (a) expectations of parents and teachers for children; (b) expectations of children (level of aspiration): choice of profession, social position, wealth (newspaper boy - millionaire), prestige, power, success.
3. Pathology of Frustrated Expectations: (a) the sex offender; (b) the criminal; (c) the mentally ill; (d) the willing disciples of political demagoguery; (e) the pathologically prejudiced individual.

E. Collective Expectations of:
1. family;
2. community;
3. service clubs and women's clubs;
4. business;

5. church;
6. political party, reform movements;
7. nation.

F. Expectations in Terms of Security and Insecurity.
1. The trend toward economic and social security: (a) transformation of capitalism and private enterprise, disappearance of entrepreneur (risk, uncertainty, speculation); (b) social security; (c) annual wage security, collective bargaining; (d) investment, saving, insurance, investment funds, consolidation and stability; (e) increasing proportion of salaried workers, employees; (f) concentration, big business, pressure groups; (g) price-support; agricultural policy; import-duties; (h) full employment policy; anti-depression policy and planning; (i) immigration policy; (j) the managerial revolution; (k) the organizational revolution.
2. Changes in Expectations of Political Security. (a) the security-loyalty-trend; (b) immigration policy; foreign visitors; (c) foreign policy, diplomacy; military preparedness; (d) forum of United Nations; (e) role of farmers; trade-unions; monopoly and anti-trust laws; (f) mass-propaganda; (g) the conflict of ideologies.
3. The Drive toward Individual Security: (a) conformism ("the lonely crowd," "escape from freedom," "to keep up with the Joneses"), mass-consumption, mass-recreation, mass-anxiety and mass hysteria, class-manners and morals; (b) escape from self; from loneliness: alcoholism, speeding, restless activity, surrender to collectivity and leadership; (c) psycho-analysis and peace of mind religions; (d) money making;

conspicuous consumption (as success-symbolism); (e) mutual complimenting, backslapping; playing the game according to the roles; role-flexibility; (f) the labor movement; (g) the service clubs; (h) the college fraternities; (i) astrology, spiritualism.
4. The Drive toward Scientific Security. (a) facts, data, statistics; fieldwork, surveys, measurements; experimental tests and empirical proofs; (b) exact, mathematical methods; operationalism; positivism; strict definitions; models, tables, graphs; (c) small groups, small areas, "the manageable unity of study," specialized specialists; (d) horror of metaphysics, speculation, armchair deduction, mysticism, philosophic concepts and general systems, ideas and ideals; (e) team-work, group-think, group-activity; (f) imitation of natural sciences by social sciences; (g) scientific fads.

IV. The American Images of the Future.

A. the interdependency of I, II & III expressed in the change of underlying implicit philosophy;
B. the historical development and influence of the American images of the future;
C. the present meaning to individuals of the American "creed," "promise," "destiny," "dream," etc.;
D. the explicit ideology and conscious goals or objectives concerning the future;
E. the message to the world of tomorrow and the means of fulfillment;
F. the reception and evaluation by the world audience;
G. the desirability and possibility of strengthening the positive, enthusiastic and optimistic vision of the future;
H. the ultimate consequences of a further weakening of the American contribution to the ideal faith and spiritual destiny of mankind.

The field of research as divided in four main parts (the first three each of partial analysis, the latter of global analysis), has here been outlined in a very tentative and preliminary way, in order to give a general, rough idea of the subject matter.

In regard to research techniques, two main ideas should be followed, either at the same time or in successive phases:

A. a qualitative analysis of the changes in American culture, its social structure, attitudes and expectations, on the basis of reading, travel and discussion with competent observers of the American scene. This is, in a large part, the method used by Myrdal and his associates for "An American Dilemma" and also the method used in my two-volume Dutch work on European culture dynamics.

B. a quantitative analysis, applied to a great many separate research subjects. This would imply, for instance:

1. Content analysis of books (in several fields from philosophy to fiction, from history to humor); diaries and journals; comics; newspapers; periodicals; polls; mass-media, etc.; sermons.
2. Questionnaires, interviews: for special groups; on special subjects.

One might think of A (qualitative research) as the first step, which would clarify and elaborate the problem. This would also lead to a concrete blueprint for empirical research, Step B.

--Fred L. Polak, Netherlands School of Economics, with Stanford Research Institute.

10. Action Research on the Fourth Amendment

Civil libertarians cannot indefinitely find comfort or seek hope in the slogan, "Wiretapping is dirty business." We need more weapons in dealing with the electronic invasion of our privacy by police officials.

The Fourth Amendment guarantees us against unreasonable search and seizure. It does this by providing for the issuance of a warrant specifying person, place, and things to be seized as the authority for such search. This is distinct from a general search warrant which would permit a police officer to enter anyone's home when he adjudged that the search might result in uncovering evidence.

Of these writs of assistance, as they were known in colonial history, James Otis, in 1761, said, "The worst instrument of arbitrary power, the most destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principle of law, that ever was found in an English law book" is this placing of "the liberty of every man in the hands of every petty officer."

Now tapping one's telephone wires is the most direct invasion of one's privacy. Such invasion should be limited by the Fourth Amendment. The police officer before tapping should be limited in his power the same way he is limited before searching one's home. He should only be given a warrant that is specific as to the names of places, persons, and things to be searched and seized.

However, issuing an effective specific warrant to an officer about to tap is impossible by the very nature of wiretapping. In the tapping of one's private phone, no specific warrant could distinguish all persons using the phone, all persons called, and all persons

calling in to anyone. In effect such a warrant would be general and subject to all abuses involved in our colonial experience.

The Fourth Amendment, like the other six in our Bill of Rights, was written against the historical backdrop of an agricultural society where police invasion usually involved physical entry into one's home. Today, much of our activity involves the telephone and the increase in such communication is reflected in the tremendous expansion of telephonic facilities since World War II. Now, the question remains, "Can we bar the police from making investigations involving such communication, keeping in mind that the Fourth Amendment does not guarantee privacy from any search--merely against the unreasonable kind?" The present answer is manifest: the police--particularly on state and local levels--conduct extensive tapping activities by virtue of the authority of various statutes.

Accordingly, a procedure is required that would permit police to tap a wire only under conditions that would prevent the same arbitrariness and abuse which the "specific warrant" was devised to avoid. Such a procedure is not a simple affair of terminology. A host of direct and indirect consequences are likely to follow from whatever distinctive formula is chosen. What branches or levels of government should take action is another highly involved question. Therefore the desired process can best be formulated by a legal engineering analysis of: (1) what is mechanically involved in both physically tapping a wire and listening to telephonic conversations by other eavesdropping techniques in this electronic age; (2) what does the future portend in the development of such techniques; (3) within this technological and

27

behavioral framework, what legal process would assure the safeguards already involved in the specific warrant; and (4) what judicial or legislative processes should be resorted to for restating the law.

A research program directed at these questions is in the consultation and design phase.

--Irving Ferman
American Civil Liberties Union

11. Japanese Modernization and the West

The contrast between Japan's rapid adaptation to the modern world and the slow, halting, and frequently totally unsuccessful adaptation characterizing most of the other Asiatic countries is striking and has been the subject of much study. In my opinion, most of this research, although frequently admirable in its details, has approached the problem from the wrong direction. Much emphasis, for example, has been put upon the historic fact that Japan once before, in the 8th and 9th centuries, accepted much of a foreign culture. This type of reasoning, however, ignores the fact that Korea, Annam, Siam, Burma, and Indonesia all accepted a foreign culture at least once in their history, but, unlike Japan, have been unable to adapt rapidly to western culture. Perhaps the proper direction for research into this problem is suggested by the fact that Japan developed into a state which, in its economic and political organization, has a strong resemblance to a European country; therefore, it might best be explained through a comparison with the modern history of Europe.

Although the fact is frequently overlooked, the "modernization" of Europe was like that of Japan. Both Europe and Japan started the process from a feudal society. Yet genuine feudalism is quite rare in the world and few of the other Asiatic countries had such a system. Tokugawa Japan and premodern Europe were by no means identical in their social and political organization, but they were obviously representatives of the same genus, if not of the same species. A number of scholars have pointed out that Japan, just before Admiral Perry's visit, was undergoing a process of political and economic evolution which has a number of strong similarities with the changes which ended feudalism and brought the modern era to Europe.

It has often been noted that modern Japan adopted numerous political and economic ideas from the west, but in other areas refused to accept western ways. This is usually stated as a criticism of Japan, but, I suggest, it may be one of the reasons for her success in adapting to the west. Europe, after all, did the same thing. The changes which led to our modern type of society were largely political and economic. Other aspects of European society changed relatively little. It seems probable that this is a major factor in the modernization process. If the organization of a society is such that changes in one area can be made without revolutionizing the whole society, then such changes will be easier to accomplish than if the various aspects of the culture are closely integrated. China, for example, is equipped with a self-consistent culture in which changes in the political and economic organization are likely to lead to changes in other areas of such magnitude as to threaten cultural collapse. The Japanese (and the Europeans) have been able to make radical changes in their political and economic organization while retaining a culture which, in other areas, was relatively stable.

28

In addition to comparing European development and that of Japan, I would suggest several marginal cases which could be included in any study of the process of "modernization." Ancient Greece was, in spite of the absence of mechanical power, much like modern Europe in a number of ways. It also developed out of a feudal background. Thailand, also, had a sort of feudalism prior to the 19th century, and, if its adaptation to western ways has not been as successful as that of Japan, still it has done better than most Asiatic countries. As a final area for fruitful application of the comparative method, I suggest a study of those areas where feudalism has not developed into capitalism. It might be possible to isolate the crucial elements in feudalism that lead to the modern state and those that do not.

--Gordon Tullock
(New Haven, Connecticut)

12. A Survey of Churches and Church Membership

Political scientists interested in the relations between religious affiliation and voting behavior will probably find a new survey of churches and church membership in the United States of value. A number of reports based on the survey have already appeared and others will follow.

The study is an effort to gather the statistics of churches and church membership of every region, division, state and county throughout the country for the year 1952 and to relate these findings to certain aspects of the 1950 United States Census of Population. It has been supported by a private foundation fund.

The first step of the study involved the development of methodology and the preparation of the necessary instruments for collection of data. The process was set up in such a way that participating religious groups would find it as easy as possible to collect all the desired information. Each denomination received a supply of report forms, a state and county code and a specially prepared denominational code. The forms permitted the reporting of church membership and location in such a way that it could be punched directly on IBM cards as soon as the data was edited.

The enlistment of denominational support required considerable time. Every religious body listed in The Yearbook of American Churches was approached, either by direct discussion with the headquarters personnel of the group or by correspondence. During this phase of the study a great deal was learned about the availability of church membership data and the problems involved in collecting it. However, this phase reinforced the original conviction of the researchers that the method used was workable and useful. The work performed by the denominations in establishing the county location of the churches and filing their reports covered the better part of a year. In a few cases more than a year elapsed before all reports were received.

As the data reached the Bureau office it was edited carefully and sent to the Bureau of Applied Social Science Research at Columbia University where cards were punched and machine tabulations carried out. Analysis and preparation of the reports has been carried out by the staff members of the Bureau of Research and Survey.

29

Not since 1926 has a reasonably accurate census of the distribution of churches and church membership by state or county in the U. S. A. been made. The 1936 U. S. Census of Religious Bodies was incomplete. The 1946 Census was abandoned when only 60 percent complete, and even these figures were never released. No federal action for a 1956 census was taken.

At the same time, the period since 1926 has been one of tremendous population shift and, since 1940, rapid population increase. Almost all major denominations have responded to this development by entering into campaigns to raise large sums of money to organize and erect new churches in the areas of rapid growth.

These funds are being raised and spent, however, largely in response to the pressures of constituency and extension-minded local pastors and executives rather than in relation to any over-all analysis of need. National church executives--or for that matter regional and state executives--are forced to rely on various rule-of-thumb procedures in distributing these funds to various geographical areas or for various types of extension work, because nowhere does there exist an accurate statistical picture of relative need for church extension. Particularly the lack of interdenominational data makes planning difficult, even when denominations are willing to cooperate with each other.

The churches are faced with some fundamental questions of strategy. What are the relative church extension needs of the densely populated metropolitan areas and the sparsely populated rural areas? What is the significance for the church of the tremendous increase in rural non-farm population? Of the population shifts from the interior to the West, Northwest, and South? Of the rural-urban migrations? Of

changing age patterns?

The present analysis of church statistics by counties provides essential basic data necessary to strategic church planning. Churches in every county, state and region, in the urban centers and in sparsely populated rural areas can benefit.

Since all of the basic information secured will be published, grouping and regrouping to throw light on special problems can be extended far beyond the limit of the approximate eighty bulletins planned. Maps of single denominations, selections or groupings of denominations, or of all can be constructed. Relative strength in numbers of churches or membership can be charted or mapped. Regional contrasts and comparisons can be made. Knowledge drawn from the Federal Census and from many other available sources can be related to the material of this study.

In individual counties, the present data can be a substantial beginning for thorough field analysis of the total church pattern. It is hoped that local churches or church councils may be stimulated to verify or correct, and to supplement their county information to obtain a full picture of the situation in which they live and seek to serve. If the present study is a beginning, not an end of fact finding in each locality, it will have best served its purpose.

Neither the statistics of this study nor analyses based upon them provide automatic answers to church problems. The facts of this study are essential and valuable tools, but skill and wisdom on the part of the men who use them will determine their actual service to the churches.

The actual process of collecting the data for this study has resulted in some progress toward standardization in the definition

30

and counting of churches and local church members. Some denominations which had never undertaken church and member location by county have decided to add this grouping to their regular reporting practice. Other aspects of their own counting have been re-assessed and improved. While complete consistency is probably both unattainable and undesirable in a nation of religious freedom, it is to be hoped that the trend toward reasonable comparability will continue.

The newness and the necessary time deadlines of the present project resulted in partial participation by a few religious bodies and non-participation by many others. This fact represented no lack of good will but, rather, genuine inability to adjust the organizations' statistical practice (or lack of it) to the needs of the study in time for full participation.

If events prove the value of the present study and result in periodic similar undertakings, there would be every reason to anticipate a steadily widening range of participation. The fact that the exact points of partial and non-participation are known (by contrast with their indeterminateness under the methodology of the Federal Census of Religious Bodies) increases the possibility and the expectation of real progress toward full reporting coverage.

--Lauris B. Whitman
Executive Director, Bureau of
Research and Survey, National
Council of the Churches
of Christ in the U. S. A.

13. The Controversies Surrounding Motivation Research

While reviewing the extensive literature on the subject of motivation research recently, I couldn't help but notice how often a motivation researcher defends his approach by pointing to the logic of some recognized theory. At the same time, he sidesteps criticisms of his work by pointing to the value of the "practical" results he produces.

One group of researcher claims that the true purpose of motivation research is to probe into man's unconscious to find the real answers to behavior. It claims essentially that all, or at least the majority, of man's motives stem from the unconscious; that the best and most practical way to uncover unconscious motives is by use of the depth interview. A review of some of the research performed by members of this group indicates rather clearly that to them, motivation research is qualitative in nature and the answer to why people behave as they do can be determined by studying relatively small numbers of people. The "logic" underlying this approach stems from Freudian psychoanalytic theory, and most psychologists will agree that many of Freud's theories are difficult to refute.

Motivation researchers of another group, taking an opposite stand, believe that man is completely aware of why he behaves the way he does, and that it is highly unlikely that anyone can probe very far into the unconscious in a one-hour or even two-hour interview. They also argue that formal research procedures, usually including construction of a formal questionnaire or interview schedule and its administration to a large sample of people, are necessary to the production of acceptable research results. Statistical probability theory, principles of mathematics, and traditional market or survey

31

research methods provide the "logic" behind this kind of reasoning. This, too, is difficult to refute.

A third group claims that the most efficient way to gain an understanding of human motives is to observe what people actually do and to extrapolate the reasons "why" from performance. Surveys and questionnaires are used, but they usually are relegated to a subordinate position in the research design, because what people say about their behavior is considered far less important than what they actually do. From this viewpoint, laboratory experiments and field experiments, including carefully planned market tests, fall into the category of "motivation research." To support this stand, proved scientific principles of research design and probability theory, and principles of mechanistic or behavioristic psychology are pointed to. Many of these are also difficult to disagree with on the basis of logic.

From the preceding it can be seen that the major controversies surrounding motivation research revolve around three key points: (1) the nature of man's motives, or stated differently, what really motivates human behavior, and is man aware or unaware of why he behaves as he does? (2) the techniques that can or should be used in seeking an answer to the question "why?"; and (3) the number of people or the size of the sample that has to be studied in order to get a complete answer to the motivations underlying human behavior.

Human Motives.--

When we ask a question such as, "Why do women buy type X coffee?" we are really asking two separate questions. We want to know what needs, wants, drives, or tensions lead women to buy type X coffee, and how and why

type X coffee (and not some other type) satisfies these needs, drives, or tensions. Stated differently, when a person is motivated, he not only feels a need for or wants something, but his behavior is guided by a goal which, when attained, usually results in satisfaction. The primary job of motivation research is to identify and explain the needs, drives, wants, or tensions that influence a person to behave in a particular way. Difficulties arise because there is more than one way to identify and explain human needs, and each of these ways has some obvious merit associated with it.

One theory of motivation has been contributed primarily by biologists and physiologists and might be called a physiological or biocentric theory of motivation.

For example, in explaining why a woman buys type X coffee, the physiological psychologist would be prone to point to the primary drive of thirst as the prime causal factor. Other possible forces, such as the effect of advertising on her behavior, or the fact that she has bought the coffee because a friend had voiced a special liking for that brand would be relegated to a subsidiary position. Using this theory as a frame of reference, one would tend to consider the primary drives more basic, substantial, stronger, and important than the secondary or learned drives. Actually, some secondary drives are stronger and more important in directing the behavior of a person than are the primary drives. For instance, many business executives today neglect their nutritional needs in order to satisfy their needs for recognition or accomplishment.

A second theory of motivation is based largely upon the contributions of the psychoanalysts. There is one very interesting parallel to be found between the physiological and psychoanalytic theories of motivation. Both attempt to explain

human motivation by pointing to a force that is not operating obviously and directly in the "present." First, just as the physiological psychologist searches for the physiological drives which he feels are the real source of all motivation, so does the psychoanalytically directed psychologist search the psycho-sexual past of the individual in the search for motivation meaning. According to underlined original psychoanalytic theory, human behavior can best be explained by studying the operations of a driving force called the libido. The energy from this libidinal drive can be directed into many different channels. Thus this energy may be used by one man in developing musical talents, but by another man misdirected in forming a hatred of his father or all "father figures." Similarly, by this theory an explanation of why women buy type X coffee might well be that this coffee is attractively packaged and they identify themselves with anything that is attractive. These examples are simplified, of course, but they demonstrate that on the basis of psychoanalytic theory (a) the reasons for a person's behavior are ordinarily found in his past developmental history, and (b) people are generally unaware of the needs that stimulate their behavior.

Still another popular theory of motivation, currently called field theory, claims that to understand and explain the social behavior of an individual it is necessary to study all the behavior of the individual occurring at the same time. His needs, emotions, thoughts, perceptions, and actions all have to be investigated if a meaningful answer to the question "why?" is to be derived. Second, it claims that behavior consists of relatively discrete, unified episodes with a beginning and an end. For example, a person's lunchtime behavior begins with the onset of feelings of hunger and ends when he has eaten and is satisfied; or Mrs. Jones' coffee buying behavior might start when she prepares her shopping list and terminates when she actually makes her purchase.

The major difference between this theory and those previously described is that the latter claims that we can study all motives as existing in the present--without respect to the physiological, biological, or psycho-sexual roots in the past experience. This point of view maintains that when you go back in the past to explain an individual's behavior, you are likely to lose sight of your objective of understanding and predicting a person's or group's present behavior, and that the historical analysis is likely, therefore, to be lacking in immediate psychological usefulness.

For example, in terms of what a business manager or advertising executive can do with the information, is it more useful to know that Mr. Jones joined his church because of his need for social approval or because he disliked his father?

It should be clear by now that there is more than one theory of motivation; that the research that is performed in the study of motivation will depend upon the theory to which the researcher adheres. The techniques he uses will stem directly from the theoretical school to which he belongs.

Relatively few motivation researchers will deny that there are three levels of motivation that should be explored before a complete answer to the question "why?" can be given. The first of these levels may be called the conscious or rational level. In this case we merely ask a person to explain his behavior, feeling, or emotions to us. It is logical for people to like or dislike a certain food because of the characteristics of the food. Most people can also give us some pretty acceptable reasons for their patronizing or not patronizing a given store in their neighbor-

33

hood. Whether or not the reasons that people give us as explanations are their real reasons, we can't afford to ignore them in our research effort, and they are important to whatever final interpretation we may place on the data we collect. Furthermore, information gained by the traditional opinion-research method is far superior to having no information at all.

Conscious Motivation.--

The second level of motivation that should be explored is one where the person is fully aware of why he does a certain thing but is reluctant to admit it to an interviewer and even, sometimes, to himself. We all know that in our society it is "taboo" to discuss some motives with strangers. Thus, Dr. Kinsey had to deal with specially selected and co-operative persons and groups to develop his information about sexual behavior. Sex is by no means the only need that people have and are reluctant to talk about. Such personal needs as those for power, recognition, or status are also usually guarded carefully. For example, when a housewife is asked why she serves butter instead of margarine to guests, she usually responds that butter is tastier, healthier, or "looks better." When she's asked why she serves margarine to her family, she says it is more economical, just as good as butter, and so on. The key, however, to the underlying motive behind her behavior is found by the interviewer to be that she finds it necessary to serve butter instead of margarine to guests. Status or prestige needs are the real driving forces behind her choice instead of taste, color, or appearance.

A variety of techniques of demonstrated usefulness have been developed for uncovering these "hidden" motives. Perhaps the simplest is the one in which the respondent is asked to explain the behavior of "somebody else" in a given situation. When this is done the respondent can speak freely without committing himself or damaging his "self-image." During a recent study carried out at Stanford Research Institute to determine student attitudes toward the retail food industry, we decided that it would be worth knowing what a student wanted in his first job. We asked two questions. (1) What will you be looking for in a job when you finish school? (2) Generally speaking, what does a high school (college) graduate look for in a job after he finishes school? In response to the first question we got such answers as interesting work, challenging work, and work that I've been trained to do. The second question, however, elicited such answers as salary, security, and promotional opportunities. Had we depended on the answers to the direct question alone, we certainly would have been misled by what we were told. By getting answers to both questions, we were able to speculate that in spite of surface disregard for such factors as salary and security, these factors might play a major role in the student's choice of job.

The Unconscious Level.--

The third level of motivation with which the researcher is concerned is the unconscious level. Most psychologists today will agree with the statement that much of our behavior is directed by needs that exist only on the unconscious level. We are not only completely unaware of these needs, but if someone were to tell us that these needs were the real motivating forces behind our behavior, we would probably object quite strenuously.

Unconscious needs are closely interwoven with one's basic personality structure and develop from the very personal and individual experiences that each one of us undergoes in our development. Techniques do exist today which

34

frequently enable psychologists to determine the unconscious needs that direct an individual's behavior. These techniques include those that I have discussed previously (direct questioning and projective techniques) as well as depth interviewing techniques.

Depth interviewing refers to nothing more than the ability of the interviewer to get a respondent to talk freely and fully about some aspect of his behavior. The interviewer guides the respondent as little as possible and encourages him to respond to the topic under discussion in any way he wants. Thus, rather than asking direct questions the interviewer might repeat the last phrase that the person speaking has made. For example, if the speaker said, "I like brand X coffee because it tastes so good," the interviewer might quizzically say, "It tastes so good?" This serves as an impetus to encourage the respondent to do more talking. Other means for getting the person to talk freely are merely by nodding the head, saying "uh huh," or raising an eyebrow quizzically.

Some motivation researchers who claim to do depth interviewing in reality use a guided interview form. In this case the interviewer is provided with a series of broad, open-ended questions which he addresses to the respondent. This differs somewhat from the true depth, nondirective interview in that it does steer the respondent into answering specific questions.

It is true that in order to conduct a depth interview one must have substantial training in the psychological sciences, and the respondent must be willing to spend a substantial amount of time being interviewed. There is some very real question as to whether a non-directed interview lasting for a half hour or even for one hour is really a depth interview. Most psychoanalysts claim that it is

necessary to interview a person for several long sessions before an understanding of his unconscious motives becomes clear.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that just as there is more than one theory on why men act as they do, so there is more than one way of conducting motivation research. In addition to those noted above, the methods of content analysis, sociometric measurement, the field and laboratory experiment, none of which I've mentioned, can all be utilized to solve problems of human motivation.

In my opinion, unconscious motives are of particular importance to the psychiatrist, or clinical psychologist, whose goal is to help a person adjust to society. I think unconscious motives are of somewhat less importance to the businessman and to the applied industrial researcher who are interested in group response or the behavior of a "majority" of people. I also believe that many motivation researchers today confuse the last two levels of motivation which I have discussed. Stated differently, these suppressed motivations are quite often confused with unconscious motivations. Just because a person fails to talk about his need for power or prestige doesn't necessarily mean he is unconscious of its existence. It should be remembered that until one theory of motivation demonstrates unsurpassed credibility over others, a technique alone will not determine what is or isn't motivation research. Rather, the nature of the problem under study will suggest the theories and techniques that will be most likely to yield useful results.

Size of Sample.--

The third area about which there is some controversy in the motivation research field has to do with the size and nature of the

35

sample that is studied. The purpose of sampling is to collect necessary information in a shorter time period and at less cost than would be required if everyone in a selected group (the universe) were to be interviewed or measured. As long as samples are used, there will be a sampling error, and this error does not decrease proportionately with an increase in sample size. The argument as to whether or not motivation research requires a large sample is a meaningless one. The problem under study, and not motivation research per se, will determine the nature and size of sample required for reliable and/or practical results.

In the space remaining, it would be presumptuous for me to attempt to cover all of the factors involved in proper sampling. There are, however, a couple of points that can be made. All too frequently I have seen people judge a research report on the basis of the size of the sample alone. The assumption seems to be that if 2,000 people have been interviewed the study must be a good one. In reality the size of the sample is no more and oftentimes less important than the way in which the sample is selected. If a research objective is to determine why housewives in general prefer X brand coffee, a sample of 300 housewives representative of all age and economic levels will be more reliable than one of 2,000 housewives that is not in any way representative of the total population of housewives. If we were

interested in determining how many fingers the human animal has on each hand, a sample of one or two would in all likelihood provide us with an answer. If we wanted to know the color of human eyes, a sample of 20 or 30 people would probably suffice if we were careful to spread the sample sufficiently. On the other hand, if we want to know what people in the U.S.A. think of brussels sprouts and why, we will need a substantially larger sample with a much broader geographical base.

In conclusion, all of the preceding implies strongly that the controversies surrounding motivation research stem directly from the fact that there is more than one sound motivation theory and more than one way to investigate human motives. Some controversy also arises either from misuse of statistical probability theory or from a lack of understanding of the purposes and methods of sampling. A more complete understanding and utilization of the more reliable aspects of all existing theories, techniques, and sampling possibilities, would lead to both a decrease in controversy and better research. This at least is the conclusion that may be reached by the "logic" I have attempted to present.

--Bertrand Klass
Market Planning Corporation
New York

14. Teachers' Colleges and Politics

During the last session of Congress, much consideration was given to the possible influence of the federal government upon the educative process as a result of proposed federal aid to education. A more immediate and pressing problem is the relation

of state governments to state-financed and state-controlled schools; more particularly the relations of state governments to state-supported teachers colleges needs study and analysis.

A brief investigation of the problem suggests several hypotheses which may be roughly divided into those subject to relatively empirical analysis, and those propositions which must be examined by more subjective or "verstende" means. Among the more empirically oriented hypotheses which can be subjected to fairly straightforward analysis might be included the following:

(1) How is the State Board of Education set up?

There is little doubt that the State Board of Education has considerable influence upon the policies and operation of teachers' colleges. Relevant questions here are the manner in which the Board is appointed or elected, the span of office holding of the individual members, the decision-making process of the Board, the political affiliation of the Board members, the changes in the Board membership which result from a change of state administration, and the area of decision which the Board encompasses. Certain of these items are available even now, but have not been related to the other variables discussed here.

(2) How are trustees of teachers' colleges organized?

In this area, one might ask about the manner of appointment of such trustees, the political, educational, and general socio-economic background of these trustees, the continuity of office-holding of these trustees, and the area of decision-making of these trustees.

(3) How is the faculty of a teachers' college organized?

Pertinent inquiries are the recruitment procedures for the faculty, the educational background of the faculty members, the political affiliation of faculty members, the manner of appointment of department heads, the system of tenure of faculty members, the manner of organizing and operating faculty committees, and the determination of curriculums in the college.

Further hypotheses which involve study designs oriented to discovery of channels of communication, processes of decision-making both formal and informal, and the determination of degrees of the exercise of power within the institutional structure might be:

(4) What political considerations are involved in the selection of administrative heads of teachers' colleges?

Who appoints the president and the deans of the college? How are such personnel recruited? What is the political affiliation of such administrative heads? What political endorsement is required to secure such positions? What are the educational and socio-economic backgrounds of such personnel, and how important are they in obtaining and holding administrative positions?

(5) How are promotions secured in the faculty of teachers' colleges?

Here the work history within the college of department heads would be relevant. Also, the educational background of those faculty members who are promoted and those who receive no promotions, the length of service in each academic grade for various faculty members, the relationship of committee membership and promotion, the formal vs. the informal process of promotion.

(6) What are the formal and informal procedures for handling complaints and general dissatisfaction of faculty members of teachers' colleges?

This involves the general area of morale, as well as the formal and informal processes by which complaints are made, and the

37

resolution of such complaints. Once again, where is the decision-making locus of power, who is consulted in the process, who and where is the "active minority," who registers complaints and who does not?

In essence, all the foregoing are "fishing expeditions" from which the facts gathered may possibly be resolved into one or several more general propositions such as the following:

(1) The State Board of Education exercises considerable influence in the selection of the Board of Trustees, which in turn is decisive in determining policy for teachers' colleges.

(2) An active minority of politically oriented faculty members determines faculty policy in teachers' colleges.

(3) The decision-making process is confined to a relatively few politically oriented administration and faculty members in teachers' colleges.

It may be that in spite of considerable evidence to the contrary all of the above hypotheses will be shown to be false when analytically examined. However, the importance of the results of the possible exercise of influence by state governments upon teachers' colleges makes further investigation of the question necessary. All too frequently, political scientists, politicians, and the press look upon the problem of government aid (or absence thereof) as a question of whether a Nazi-like or Soviet-like regime will be visited upon the schools. We should rather be concerned with the more realistic political questions that are part and parcel of America's long experience with government-ruled education.

--Myron Nalbandian
Brown University

15. Traits of Policy-Making Volunteers

Studies of elected officials, career servants, bosses, and citizens (interested and apathetic) have omitted a possibly important political type that is quite accessible. A recent paper by Harold Nixon called attention to the neglect of party "volunteers." Have volunteers who come to occupy significant policy-making roles also been neglected? The staffing of democratic institutions involves special problems, one of which may be semi- or quasi-political roles which sometimes go begging because they are non-salaried or less dramatic, or even unformalized. This newer set of roles interacts with the older (perhaps more professional) set with sometimes far-reaching results. The "Citizens for Eisenhower" experience has exemplified this, I think.

Who are these self-selected leaders who become policy-makers neither through election in any formal sense nor through the governmental structure?

I would like to see a pilot study done to discover whether this alleged new role exists on a wide enough scale to merit study and to provide a basis for identifying types of persons most likely to aspire to such roles. It is a reasonable assumption that such volunteer roles are less determinate and less subject to institutional controls. If so, mechanisms of self-selection and the sociologically relevant personality characteristics may be crucial factors in decisions taken in the name of the community.

Suggested procedures: (1) choose one or more communities,

38

ranging in size from 10,000 to 25,000; (2) identify two or three roles normally filled by volunteers and which involve the exercise of authority over a significant range of activities; (3) construct a set of correlates, such as sex, age, educational background, income, leisure, professional skills, level of aspiration.

Out of this might come, I suspect, enough data to formulate a limited range of types who select themselves for these roles and a set of performance standards (or goal expectations) which could be used to account for such things as: a decision-making structure which does not consist primarily of either public officials or those who are ascribed great influence by the community. The latter is only one of several types of structures which may emerge, of course.

<div align="right">

--R. C. Snyder
Northwestern University

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If indeed I have no power to quote from authors as they have, it is a far bigger and more worthy thing to read by the light of experience, which is the instructress of their masters. They strut about puffed up and pompous, decked out and adorned not with their own labours but by those of others, and they will not even allow me my own. And if they despise me who am an inventor how much more should blame be given to themselves, who are not inventors but trumpeters and reciters of the works of others?

<div align="right">

--Leonardo da Vinci,
Notebooks (Braziller, 1954), p. 57.

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